1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

175 yao, whose office was that of "warden of the marches." Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.[39]

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch'ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. 11, p. 7*a*), that "their troops under the command of the T'itu Yueh Chung-ch'i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols." It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T'u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

769 In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the

[39] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82–88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O. L.

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769 veneration of the ancestors at the graveyard, the festival, and the meeting of the clan. I shall note here only the facts related to the structure of the clan as manifested in the solemn worship. I shall deal later with the other phases.

In the avenue leading straight from the entrance of the graveyard to the imposing mound of the ancestor the worshippers, holding incense sticks in their hands, stood erect. They were divided into two distinct groups, standing apart but both facing the mound. The offering disposed on a table before the mound included a hog, a pork pie, rolls of steamed bread, dried grapes, sugar, and pears.

As chief of the clan the T'u-ssu stood in front of both groups and performed the libations, the burning of paper, and the offering of the sacrifices.

The first of the two groups mentioned above was disposed in six rows, each of which performed in succession the veneration of the ancestor by prostration. Then the members of the first row, in a group, turned and honored, by bowing, the members of the five other rows. Those of the second row, after having honored the members of the first row by prostrating themselves, turned and honored the members of the next four rows with a simple bow, and so on. The pork pie and the rolls, sacrifices for the ancestor, were then divided among the members of the six rows, who by eating some of the food partook at the graveyard in a sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor. Later a piece of pork from the hog was offered to each of the families of members of the six rows.

After this sacrificial meal, the large second group approached the mound, and prostrated themselves in a group (not in separate rows), holding incense sticks in their joined hands, to venerate the ancestor. Then, prostrating themselves again in a group, they honored the members of the first group. They did not partake of the sacrificial meal. This concluded the rites at the graveyard.

The members of the first group only then went to the courtyard of Ch'i Sen-k'o (Ch'i the lion),[1] a wealthy Monguor, in order to honor the clan register of genealogy according to regular ritual and to bring it up to date by entering the names of members deceased since the last diet.

769 These rites reveal the internal structure and social organization of the Monguor clan.

618 The T'u-ssu, as recognized chief of the clan, officiated at the sacrifice, acting in front of the whole clan and in its name.

All members of the clan, as bearers of the same surname, claim descent from a common ancestor, and therefore they assemble at the grave mound of this common ancestor to venerate him collectively.

The general assembly is, however, divided into two

[1] From Monguor *senggi*, Mongol *sengge*, Tibetan *senge*, "lion."

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groups, and the differences between these groups demand analysis.

1. The members of the first group are disposed in six rows which venerate the ancestor in succession and in the same way, but each row honors the others in different ways. The first row honors the five others with a simple bow. The second row honors the first row by prostration, but the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth rows by bowing only. The third row honors the first and second rows by prostration, but the fourth, fifth, and sixth rows only by bowing, and so on down.

2. All the members of the large second group venerate the ancestor by prostration, not in rows of precedence but as a uniform group. They honor the members of the six rows of the first group by the same rite of prostration, and this they also do collectively and simultaneously.

3. The members of the first group, the six rows, partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor; the members of the second group are excluded from this rite.

4. The members of the first group honor the genealogical register in the presence of the T'u-ssu, and the names of their deceased are carefully inscribed in this register according to a special ritual. The members of the second group are not allowed to honor the register and the names of their deceased are debarred from the precious book.

I was delayed in arriving at a logical analysis of these differences by the existence of a mistaken "folk" concept of the structure of the Monguor clan. According to this popular and universally accepted tradition, all members of the clan bear the same surname, which is the same as that of their chief, and therefore all are assumed to be the descendants of a common ancestor. Moreover, the pattern of actual behavior follows this tradition. In conformity with the principle of patrilineal exogamy, the boys of the clan are not allowed to marry girls of their own clan. In addition, all members of the clan venerate the same founding ancestor, as described above.

Nevertheless the existence of two groups, ritually differentiated from each other, leads inevitably to the conclusion that in each clan the members of the first are true descendants of a common ancestor, while those of the second group are commoners, descendants of other ancestors, who have been assimilated to clan status, though incompletely and at a subordinate level.

The six rows of "true" clan members represent six different generations of descent from the founding ancestor, through his sons.[2] Therefore the members of the senior generation worship the ancestor first, followed by the cadet generations in descending order. Similarly each cadet generation, from second to fifth,

[2] This does *not* mean that a man in the youngest generation had his own father, grandfather, etc., up to the fifth ascending generation still living. It means simply that owing to wide age spreads within any generation, it was ultimately possible to have assembled a group of kinsmen in which six different generations were represented.

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accords to its seniors a prostration, but to its juniors only a simple bow.

Collectively, the six lines of true genealogical descent form an elite. The "assimilated" commoners are admitted to the general rites and bear the clan name, but are excluded from the inner rites according to the principle that there cannot be actual participation in the veneration of other people's ancestors. Hence also their exclusion from the genealogical register.

The secondary status of the commoners is shown not only by their exclusion from the register and the sacrificial meal in communion with the ancestor, but by their collective prostration before the elite group. The ranking by seniority of generations, so important for the elite group, does not concern them, since those in the elite group are not in fact their kinsmen but simply represent, in a collective, undifferentiated way, the "lords" or descendants of the noble ancestor to whom their own ancestors became subject long ago.

The strongest confirmation, however, of the fact that the commoners are assimilated members of the clan and not true descendants of the clan ancestor is to be found in the fact that their dead are not entered in the genealogical record of the clan and they are not admitted to the rite of honoring the genealogical record. This exclusion would not be possible if they had any real claim to descent from the clan ancestor because in the larger Oriental cultural complex of which they are a marginal society to be debarred from the family register is the most shameful dishonor. Other facts also support the conclusion that commoners do in reality have their own line or lines of descent. They have their own cemeteries. In these cemeteries they carry out their own ceremonies of ancestral veneration, including the sacrificial meal of "communion." There is no indication that these ancestors of the commoners are regarded as offshoots from the line of the noble elite of the clan. Some of the wealthier commoners even have their own genealogical registers; but among all the seventeen Monguor groups, I never heard of a common ancestor of the entire commoner group. This absence of a claim to a common ancestor of the subject group suggests that the subject groups derive originally not from a single subject clan but from a number of subject clans, each with its own ancestor.

Analyses of the kind made above are never made by the Monguors themselves. When asked why all members of the clan, including the subject commoners, bear the same surname as the chief, the stock reply is simply that this has always been customary among them, and really it was so of old.[8]

[8] B. Y. Vladimirtsov, in his *Régime social des Mongols*, translated by M. Carsow, 88, Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948 (the original Russian edition was published in Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934), writes that *unagan bogol* (hereditary vassals), and even "simple" *bogol* (slaves) were allowed to keep the memory of their "bones" and their clans, but "migrated in camps bear-

624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

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175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liench'eng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

618 •769 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

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618 over China. The festival, calculated according to the lunar calendar, usually falls about the beginning of April. The assembly of the clan is concerned with three matters: the veneration of ancestors, a great feast, and an assize at which all topics concerning the clan are open for discussion.

MONGUOR CEMETERIES

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172 It is plain from the descriptions that have already been given that the burial customs of the Monguors in recent times have been heavily overlaid with Chinese borrowings. There are, however, indications of more ancient customs. People told that in 1906, after very heavy rains, a wall near the village of Hsinyuanp'u on the spur of a mountain in the valley of Shat'ang collapsed and a big vaulted burial chamber was revealed. It had been built with very large bricks. It contained a coffin, which had rotted away, in which there was the skeleton of a man. His clothes had rotted, but the remains of a bow, arrows, and quiver were found. Before the coffin there lay the skeleton of a horse. The saddle had also rotted,

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764 In the more recent graveyards the date of the setting up of the stone and the name of the deceased can still be read, but on the older monuments nothing is legible, not only because the soft stone of the region weathers badly but because the Monguors have scratched and defaced the stones.[57] On both sides of the approach avenue there are smaller mounds, in rows, each with a stone table for offerings. Husband and wife are buried under the same mound, and as the rows of graves correspond to descent by generations, the number of generations buried in the cemetery can easily be determined.

WORSHIPPING OF THE ANCESTORS

•769 On the occasion that I attended, the T'u-ssu went after breakfast to the cemetery, preceded by more than fifty soldiers and followed by the heads of the noble and non-noble families, the chiefs and elders of the villages, and the officials of his administration. In 1913 all of these personages were still wearing the old official Chinese costume customary under the Manchu Empire: a silk gown, a long silk outergown, satin boots, and a hat with a red fringe and a button on top corresponding to the grade of official rank. Hundreds of Monguor women flocked to the cemetery in their brightest attire, and men and children of the clan followed the ceremonial parade. A table bearing a large hog and a pork pie which had been prepared from the head of the hog stood next to the offering table. Alongside the offering table were also laid out twelve rolls of steamed bread, wine, tea, paper and incense sticks. On the offering table there stood a loaf of bread shaped like a dish, into the hollow of which were poured oil, flour, and roasted wheat.

The master of ceremonies, in a loud voice, ordered the nobles to line up in rows according to their generation. The non-nobles formed in rows also, standing behind the nobles and separated from them by a perceptible distance.

The next order was to adjust hats and clothes and to

[57] The Monguors have a custom of scratching and defacing the steles in front of the grave mounds of the founding ancestors of clans and also of other celebrated ancestors, because they believe these chips have medicinal properties. Grinding the fragments to dust, they mix them with the medicines prescribed by physicians. In my own time a large part of the stele of the founding ancestor of the Ch'i clan had already disappeared and the inscription was illegible. I noticed even more defacement of the stele of the ancestor of the Li clan in Hanp'ingshan. This old cemetery is more elaborate than other Monguor cemeteries: on both sides of the large avenue leading to the central mound are animals carved in stone. This practice is allowed only for high officials. All these animals had been defaced in the same way by the Monguors.

D. C. Graham, Notes on the primitive religion of the Chinese in Szech'uan, *Jour. West China Border Research Society* 1 (1): 53, Chengtu, Canadian Mission Press, 1922–1923, writes that "in the Po-chih Miao near Sui-fu, Szech'uan . . . is a stone still worshipped, and for a few cash one can purchase a tiny bit of the rock which will cause him to recover from illness if he will grind it to sand, soak in water, and then drink the water."

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769 stand erect with arms stretched at the side. This was followed by an order to "worship the spirit of the earth." On this order the T'u-ssu, alone, went straight to the offering table before the central mound, prostrated himself, knelt and bowed nine times before the stele, and poured wine on the ground as a libation to the spirit of the earth. At the next order, "worship the ancestors!" the T'u-ssu, still alone, knelt and prostrated himself nine times before the stele, pouring the ritual libation of wine on the stone table, and performed the same rite at each end of the stone tables in front of the smaller mounds. A libation of tea was then poured in the same way, paper was burned, and incense sticks fixed on every small mound and on the central table in front of the great mound.

Again hats and clothes were adjusted, and at the order of the master of ceremonies the members of the oldest living generation lined up before the stele, and taking their time from his commands bowed, prostrated themselves, and knelt nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and so on. The rites performed by each group of the nobles and by the commoners have already been related above (pp. 60 sq.) as has also the sacrificial communion with the founding ancestor. At each distribution of pie and bread, the oldest generation received its portion first. Later the carcass of the pig was divided in the same way, and portions of the pie and the pork were reserved to be sent to noble members of the clan who had been unable to attend the assembly.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

173 769 The ceremony of veneration is followed by bringing up to date the genealogical register of the descendants of the founding ancestor, in the presence of the T'u-ssu and the whole noble group. In noble families, when a father, mother, or some other member of a family dies, the Monguors write the name of the deceased, the names of his parents, and the hour and day of his birth and death on a slip of red paper. This slip is impaled on a chopstick, which is planted in a bowl containing wheat, placed reverently before the picture of the Lama Buddhist or Taoist deity particularly honored in that family. The slip of paper is later removed, brought to the annual assembly, and presented to the T'u-ssu by the kneeling son of the deceased, who holds incense sticks in his joined hands. The name of the deceased is then entered in the register. After the book has been wrapped again in its yellow silk, the son first arises from his kneeling position and then prostrates himself three times. Unmarried persons are not noted in the book. In cases of adoption, the fact of adoption is recorded.

764 After these ceremonies the care of the cemetery is entrusted to one of the nobles for the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions, offerings, and the making of repairs. After a short deliberation to determine the selection, a bowl of bread is put in a

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

764 bushel basket and presented to the person who has been chosen; this act constitutes the act of appointment. The man thus chosen is assigned an assistant to take care of details. This duty is performed in rotation by heads of families..

• 769 792 Neither shamans nor lamas take part in this annual veneration of the ancestors. The absence of lamas is particularly striking, because during the year the routine duties of the temple of the guardian deity of the clan are entrusted to one or two lamas, as already described, while three times a year seven lamas take part in special ceremonies of veneration at this temple. The Ch'i T'u-ssu has the right to impose on the monastery of Erhkulung the corvée obligation to provide these lamas, because this monastery was originally built in the territory of the Ch'i clan by express permission, and because it has been given many grants of property by the successive T'u-ssu of the clan.

769 527 More than any other single ceremony, this annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of a Monguor clan. There is a visible effect on the clansmen, who normally live secluded in their remote valleys, when at the assembly they see the pomp and splendor of the parade to the graveyard, the soldiers with banners, the T'u-ssu in his official silk robe, adorned with embroidered patches on the breast with glittering dragons—a present from the Emperor when one of his ancestors visited Peking—and all the outstanding members of both the noble and commoner groups in their robes of ceremony. Even the discrimination between nobles and commoners fosters the sense of hierarchy. There is no doubt that the commoners, like the nobles, feel pride in recalling their old glories and are elated by the ceremonies, the festivities, the singing of old songs, and the horse races, wrestling, and merry-making in the open air.

571 624 The sense of hierarchy, just mentioned, is well exemplified by the behavior of Monguors visiting the T'u-ssu or presenting a request to him. The visitor first prostrates himself, then arises, unrolls his "queue" and removes his hat with his right hand, placing it under his left arm. Then, placing his hands together, palm to palm, he approaches the T'u-ssu. If he is asked to sit down, he does not sit but moves to the left side of the T'u-ssu and kneels on the right knee, with the left knee up, placing his hands, still palm to palm, on the left knee, in the Tibetan manner.[58]

Monguors regard it as the worst kind of incivility to start speaking and to keep the hat on the head in the presence of the T'u-ssu. This appears to be a very old Inner Asian symbol of respect. Among the Uighur Turks in the period of the T'ang dynasty (618–906),

[58] Thus the "outside" knee, farthest from the T'u-ssu, is up, "keeping the luck" between the kneeler and the T'u-ssu. This corresponds to the protocol of kneeling in a Mongol tent where the "outside" knee is that which is nearest the door and "keeps the luck," which is concentrated in the shrine at the back of the tent, within the tent.—O. L.

[p. 72a]

592 sents the family in attending the general assembly of the clan at the spring ceremony of venerating the ancestors. At such meetings, the older people are always bitter in their condemnation of heads of families who send a delegate instead of attending in person.

592 Apart from religious practices within the family, the
796 head of the family must also attend when shamanistic ceremonies are staged in the village temple. Within the household, it is his duty every morning to honor "heaven
● 769 and all the spirits" either on the roof of his house or in the courtyard. A duty that he cannot alienate from himself is the cult of the deity honored by his father; the picture of this deity reverts to him by inheritance. It is also his responsibility to invite either shamans or lamas to his house on various occasions.

592 In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. All money coming to
471 any member of the family must be deposited with him. Individuals in the family have no right to keep money for their own use. It is he who sells and buys cattle and grain, and all contracts must be signed by him because only his signature is legally valid for the family. He also buys, sells, or mortgages land. It is his right to decide which member of the family is to become a lama, who is to be sent to school, and who is to serve as a soldier. He directs all the ordinary routine of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns to members of the family their daily duties. If members of the family wish to attend festivals, he must give permission; he must also give permission if a daughter-in-law wants to go home to visit her parents.

[553] He is of course the one who decides on the arrange-
592 ments for marriages and funerals, and it is his privilege to give names not only to his own children but to grandchildren. He is expected to be just and even-handed in seeing that all members of the family have their fair share of clothes and their fair share of space in living quarters. Inability to handle such matters to the satisfaction of the family often leads to the break-up of an extended family and the building of new chimneys. Authority within the family is balanced by responsibility to the chief of the clan not only for the family itself but for murders or robberies committed on land belonging
592 to the family. In the event that a member of his own family is murdered, he must join with the maternal uncle
681 of the one who has been killed in leading all the men of the family to secure vengeance. When a member of his family brings shame on the family by a crime, such as stealing, and is unwilling to make amends, he must again consult with the maternal uncle of the guilty person and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. In such cases even the death penalty may be exacted without arousing the disapproval of the public authorities.

592 When visiting a Monguor family, it is always easy to recognize the head of the family. He is better dressed than the others, is almost never without a long-stemmed pipe in his hand, and does not do any hard physical

[623 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 624-625 cont.] down again and grasped a seal. She then no longer paid any attention to the things that lay before her. And now the result: this girl became chancellor of an imperial realm." -- The oracle at this birthday celebration corresponds essentially with that of the Tujen.

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The Tujen celebrate birthdays otherwise, too, both men and women, but only from the forty-fifth year on. A feast is held, at which all the relatives take part. As presents, nine loaves of bread are customary. Eight steamed loaves signify the eight genii, pa-hsien, and one loaf represents the god of age, shou-hsing (star of age). Towards sundown, all go outside to the graves and give the ancestral offering. Then they go home and drink and dance into the night. -- As the names show, this custom is also borrowed from the Chinese. The Tujen originally had no ancestral offering; to the Chinese, on the other hand, the arrow of good fortune and the dance with song are foreign.

• [769]

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Word List

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[844] To give birth: tōrō-.
[527] Birthday: tōrōdzān udur; or contracted, tōrōdzūdur.
To celebrate the birthday: tōrōdzūdur noġdzi-.
That woman has given birth: nie bieri tōrōdzia.
When were you born? tsini kidzie tōrōwa?
Yes, I am really celebrating: noġdzidza ligunadzi.

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month.

[765 769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to

[765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's

[776 778 823] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The

[465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[646 cont.]
each and two ells of cloth.

At the next grave festival, which usually falls in the third lunar month, all the relatives gather at the kin-group cemetery for the offering to the dead; at that time the bone-chest is also transferred to it. A number of men go to the old burial spot at the place of cremation, dig up the chest, and bring [647] it to the cemetery without any ceremony. There they dig a small hole and put the chest in it. This is done only by men who are of the same generation as the dead person or of a lower generation. A father, for instance, would never bury his son, nor the uncle his nephew, etc.

As soon as the pit has been filled, the offering for the dead takes place; the relatives burn paper and little sticks of incense, set down loaves of bread, meat, etc., pour out tea, liquor, and soup, and hold a little meal at the grave. Then everyone goes home. -- The transfer of the bones, however, need not be done at the next grave festival; sometimes one waits two or three years. The bones may not be interred, however, outside the period of the grave festival (21).

21. [Foreign text pp. 656-657.] The Tujen word sẽn-min is evidently merely a phonetic imitation of the Chinese ch'ing-ming. The informant said that the Tujen did not know about the grave festival in olden times, but that they have copied it from the Chinese, which indeed is confirmed by the precisely identical rites and the asserted former exposure of the corpse. -- The postponement [657] of a final interment of the bones until this feast, however, remains unexplained, especially since the Chinese usually bury their dead immediately in the cemetery. The informant observed in this connection that the Chinese inter their dead on

[647 cont.]

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[769]
[777]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

[764]

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

[777]

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowadays the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

[782]

[178]

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[574]
[796]
[262]

Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
784 foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse; also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean, and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

192 [649 cont.]
764 Death box: odõn.
Bone-chest: mula odõn = little death-box.
[354] Water-lamp: fdzë dzũla.
Paper-bowl: tsialdzë pendzë.
To wear the clothing reversed: diela furula mõsë.
Prayer tea: rgë tsia.
[782] Prayer for the dead: xar(i)dzãn kunë xuenuo mani sguorluo- = (to pray) in behalf of the deceased person afterwards the mani in the circle.
Prayer fee for the lama: mbõ (Tib. loanword).
Prayer alms: odõn dzied = death-box alms.
192 Own family: dzienãni kudë.
601 Relatives on the father's side: dzienani šãni = own relatives, those with the same family name.
Relatives on the mother's side, affinity through marriage: urog. Those with different family names.
[608] Artificial kinship: šãni funi = kinship-smoke. Neighbors and friends who take the place of relatives in performing services at the reception of guests, cremation, etc.

[650]
[764] Bone-master, mother's brother: tsigãn yesëni daxu = the owner of the white bones;
ku-chu (Chin.).
Mother's brother: nëgã; achiu (Chin.).
Nephew (sister's son): dzie; wai-sheng (Chin.).
Son-in-law: kurgien; nü-hsü (Chin.).
Sister: agũ.
Daughter: fsdzũn.
192 He died as a rider: tsũrog morina bagaldilã sdzia fugudzia.
764 He died as a settler: sañrëdzi liela guei wõldzia.
Burned bones: xuodzën yäsë = dry bones.
Crematory: taw (tab) (Tib.).
Lighting pole: xuãmbar.
Lay bonze: lao shih-fu (Chin.) = old master.
Demand for an accounting: bãda; pai-ta (Chin.).
● 769 Grave festival: ch'ing-ming (Chin.); sën-miñ (21) [see Note 21 above].
192

[205 cont.]

775 764 604 decisive authority is the mother's brother of the deceased. Therefore among the people he is accordingly called tsigan yesẽ daxu, that is, "white-bone-master"; Chinese [206] ku-chu, that is, "bone-master." This soul finally becomes free at the cremation, at which, of course, the bones (better: the skeleton) are destroyed except for a few remains. The peculiarity of this soul[1] is its 775 614 604 764 clan [Clan] membership, as is expressed by the name of the mother's brother and his importance. He is the representative of the mother's kin-group [Sippe]. The Tujen, however, like the Mongols and other tribes, determine the kin group according to the bones. Among the Tujen likewise the question as to the family is: "What are your bones," tsini yesẽ yan-i? Bones and clan (kin group) therefore are equated. Thus one has grounds for maintaining that the bone-soul is borne by the life principle of the clan and propagates itself in the clan. How is unclear. As clan-master, the mother's brother is also bone-master. He exercises more rights over his sister's child than the latter's actual father and also demands the final accounting. But what happens to the thus liberated soul? Perhaps a similar custom among the Manchuria-Tungus, specifically among the Birarčen [Birar] and Kumarčen, provides insight into this. S. M. Shirokogorov reports of their soul-migration into the underworld: "The second river is the Yellow River, after crossing which the soul meets with Mongoldai Nakču, i.e. Mongoldai 'senior of the mother's clan,' which examines the case before allowing the soul to cross the Black River beyond which Inmun-kan reigns" [cited in English] (Psychomental Complex, p. 142; as cited in UdG, X, p. 563). Mongoldai, the master of the mother's clan in the underworld, here does what the bone-master of the dead does in the upper world: he demands an accounting and investigates the condition of the dead person's soul. The result is also the same: the soul becomes free for its migration and the corpse free for the burial. I could not confirm this underworld correspondence for the bãda among the Tujen; at any rate, nothing drew one's attention in this direction. Perhaps the extension of the conception into the underworld is lacking among them because they practice

[769]

[1 [i.e. - the "bone-soul", one of three souls of a human being - ANALYST]]

[206 cont.]

775 practically no ancestor cult and therefore know of no ancestor
614 spirit like the Tungusic Mongoldai Nakču. Unconsciously, how-
604 ever, forgotten conceptions might still have an effect. At any
764 rate, a custom that is often explained as thirst for honor and
[769] avarice would in this way find a suitable explanation. In the case of the bäda the principal demands of the mother's brother are directed at the inviolability of the corpse (= no violent death) and a costly death-box, as well as splendid prayers for the dead. When, in connection with the underworld custom of the Tungus, one assumes that the dead person will reach the clan-master of the underworld in an honorable, fine condition and contented, then the care of the earthly clan-master for his clan members is thereby also documented, and the clan has a good reputation in the beyond. Father W. Schmidt sought to interpret similar conditions among other peoples meaningfully, and, to be sure, in connection with the double interment of the matriarchal agrarian culture. In the latter the fleshly parts are allowed to fall to destruction. They are of no significance for the further existence of the human being. The bones, however, which are carefully cleaned and then finally interred or supplied for the cult, are important. Moon-mythological ideas lie at the bottom of this procedure. The waning moon becomes thinner and thinner, until finally only [207] a "bone" remains, but the latter gradually clothes itself again with "flesh" and grows to become the full moon, a mirror image of the perishing and becoming of man. According to this conception, the skeleton is the "essential," the support; see UdG, X, pp. 742 f. If this meaning of the bones is so harmoniously a part of the moon-mythological matriarchal agricultural culture, then the striking arrangement among the Tujen, bones -- mother's clan -- mother's brother, is also explained. -- The sociological side of this custom will not be dealt with here.

775 The second soul goes to the western paradise (Tushita)
171 and waits there for a new rebirth. The incarnation into lower forms is regarded as punishment for a vicious and evil life, exactly in the sense of the Buddhist-Lamaist wheel of life. These conceptions, however, do not have much force among

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
589 (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
588 widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
171 being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
562 woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
783 the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
841 connected. A very common expression runs: pudaǧ ilie, unclean demon; a woman is also pudaǧ during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
614 because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
171 (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
769 soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[208 cont.]

775 nonetheless know of no ancestor cult, and it is striking that they
171 are not inclined to take this over from the Chinese. The offer-
769 ings to the dead at the funeral celebration are rather to be under-
764 stood as from the fear characterized above and from the ideas that
782 the deceased would remain among the living and would need to partake of food and drink. Also, all the grave gifts, which are so important to the Chinese, are lacking among the Tujen.

774 Aside from death, the soul can escape and wander off
513 even during life. This happens in dreams and during illness,
753 indeed, even during ordinary sleep. How this is to be imagined is shown by a passage in the Geser legend, in which it is said that a scoundrel had fallen asleep and his souls, in the shape of a black and a white snake, had crept away out of his nostrils,
756 for which reason he was unable to wake up. The recall of the
755 soul is a frequently desired activity of the Tujen shaman. This catching of the soul is called: suniedzĕ xura-. It is unclear from this expression which of the three souls is involved.

[209] b) The World-picture

772 The world-picture of the Tujen extensively corresponds
171 to the Lamaistic one, which, indeed, is essentially the same as in the ancient Orient, in pre-Buddhistic India, and in Central Asia. It has no pecularity.

In the center of the universe stands the mountain Sumeru (rira). The world is arranged around it in three layers. Sun, moon, and stars circle above. In the center is the surface of the earth with the various countries, human beings, and animals. Around the foundation of the world-mountain lie the underworld and the water. This conception is repeated in its entirety or in part in the religious life in pictorial form. It is found most unequivocally in the mandala-offering of the Bon during
778 the erection of the pole-goat (mountain-torma). More or less clear variants of it are: the central fort with the mani-tree, the chorten chamber with the sky-column, the obo, the ground-drawings (mandala), at the fire-pouring, and at the cremation.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In the Ordos region there is encountered a text which 769
is still recited at the festivities in honor of Khutuktai Setsen Kung Taiji, great-grandfather of Sanang Setsen, by a lay official called *djumu*, who presides over the sacrifices offered on the grave of the hero being worshipped. Father Mostaert has called my attention to the fact that such invocations always start with the invitation to come down and to rest for awhile in the midst of the congregation. The invitation is first to Chingis Khan, his wives, his sons, and ministers, and continues with the same invitation to the hero honored at the moment, followed by an invitation to his glorious descendants, the spirits of earth, and the four points of the compass. Then the spirits are invited to enjoy the offerings, which are enumerated, and to extend their protection over the worshippers. Such conventions of the Mongols of the Ordos take place, like those of the Monguors, in the presence of a great number of invited spirits and departed ancestors, who are supposed to descend among the worshippers.[3]

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE FAMILIES

In order to avoid repetitious descriptions of practices 753
concerning the curing of ailments, prevention of diseases among children, and means to undo the harm wrought in families by evil spirits, which are encountered in all the books dealing with shamanism and Lamaism, and are nearly the same everywhere, only a few practices will here be recorded revealing the peculiar ways and psychology of the Monguors.

The Monguors, nominally fervent adherents of Lamaism, ought to ascribe ailments and all kinds of mischief and calamities to their own acts in some former life, according to the law of retribution. They should, therefore, wait peacefully for a happy recovery and for an end to the calamities. In fact, however, as soon as a member of the family takes ill, or some harm is done, without inquiring a bit about the possible natural causes of the disease or other trouble, they imagine themselves confronted by evil spirits, or having themselves stirred the spleen of some spirit. Accordingly, they do not invite a doctor and try medicines, or try to help themselves, but run in a hurry to the man who can withstand the evil spirits, conjure them and drive them away. Such men are always at hand—lamas of the Yellow and Red Sects, white or black shamans, and the Kurtain.

The first problem facing all these troubled people is 755
to detect the trouble-making spirit, and then to find the means either to placate the spirit, or to combat it and drive it away.

The theatrical Kurtain, possessed by his spirit, declares with his head shaking that in his trance he knows the culprit, and starts immediately with wild evolutions to combat it and drive it out of the house with his

[3] F. A. Mostaert, Ordosica, *Bull. Catholic Univ. of Peking*, Nov. 1934: 58.

[ס׳127(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

not Chinese and which held them close together. First of all, stress is to be put on the old cult of the ancestors, deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Turco-Mongol tribes. Among the Hsien-pi is already noted the "ox cart with the images or tables of the ancestors"; it is noted among the Ch'i-tan [1] and recorded among the Mongols in the thirteenth century.[2] Among the oldest Turco-Mongols, in the formulas of invocation of spirits, "Ancestors, Heaven and earth spirits, and deities" are included, "ancestors" enjoying the preeminency.[3] Chingis Khan became an important deity among the Mongols. No wonder that the cult of the ancestor of each of the Monguor clans is vital. A new cemetery was built for the founding ancestor, and an ancestor hall, the register of genealogies started with him, and his cult is performed yearly, accompanied by brilliant festivities at the clan diet. It is the big holiday of the whole clan. The accession of the new T'u-ssu is announced to the clan ancestor, whose blessings are asked for every year at the ceremony of the opening of the seal.[4] All the officials of the clan have to honor the ancestor at that time. These observances are a great means of strengthening the cohesion of the clan.

Like the Mongol tribes who honored their ancestors on an ox cart before their tent, the Monguors never fail to honor their ancestors of the three senior generations of each family at the time of the most important religious rite performed in spring. The cult of the ancestors is so deeply ingrained in the consciousness of every family, that the cult of its guardian deity has become that of the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations.

An interesting fact illustrates this frame of mind. Among the thirteen villages of Sha-t'ang Valley one is called the village of the Kan family. In 1914 fourteen families bearing the name of Kan were still living there. These families, according to their own traditions, are desecendants of the Third House of the Kan T'u-ssu [5] established in the region south of Nien-pei. Before 1723, on account of disturbances in the country and better living conditions in lamasery territory, they moved to Sha-t'ang and became subjects of the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung. After the revolt they became Chinese subjects, without bonds with their old clan.

In 1914 I happened to learn that still, every year, at the time of the worshipping of the ancestor of the Kan clan, a member of the Third House traveled to Mo-tou, the ancestral cemetery, three days distant, to attend the ceremony, to contribute to the expenses of the sacrifice, to bring a fixed amount of copper coins for the upkeep of the ancestral temple (fifty coins per member of each of the families), to have the names of the members who

[1] Rolf Stein, *T'oung Pao* 35: 68–69, 1940.
[2] A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1: 37, 1929.
[3] W. Schmidt, *op. cit.* 9: 13.
[4] L. Schram, *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier*, Part I: 48.
[5] Schram, *op. cit.*, 32.

died during the year entered in the family register, and to bring back a piece of pork pie for each of the families in order that they might partake of the sacrificial meal offered to the ancestor at the cemetery. After more than two-hundred years, and notwithstanding the fact that no bonds bound them to the clan, the old ancestor cult still made them remember their origin and bound the clan tightly together. 771 769

The chief of the clan, at the time of his triennial visit to the villages, brings with him the picture of the guardian deity of the clan in order that all the villagers may honor it in a group and feel united, putting their hope in the protection of the same deity. A temple is built for the guardian deity of the clan inside the mansion of the clan chief, where it is honored by a lama chaplain every day of the year in order that the clan may be blessed. 614 769

This study has made clear the role of the chiefs of the villages in promoting the religious rites against the scourges of hail, epidemics, and epizootics, fixing the rite of the sacred animal, imposing even continence, prohibiting indulgence in liquors and garlic by the performers of certain rites, forbidding the singing of obscene songs in the village during the time the crops are growing in the fields, and assessing every family a certain contribution to defray the cult expenses. 614 771

All these religious functions of the chiefs of the clans and the villages promote cohesion among the clan members and strengthen the social structure of the institution. The keen interest displayed by the clan and village chiefs in devising means to avert the harm caused by evil spirits and to provide blessings of the ancestors and all the spirits upon the clan members cannot but tie the entire clan group by closer bonds and make it feel solidarity with the chiefs, in the struggle for life.

The fact of each family having an uncle, son, or nephew among the members of the lamaseries, even Living Buddhas, necessarily welds the families together in a strong united group. 593 769

In the Monguor families, the cult of the ancestors participated in by all the members of the extended family at New Year's and on the three days preceeding the clan diet, the cult of its old guardian deity protector inherited in each generation by the eldest son, the celebration every year, with all the members of the extended family contributing toward defraying the expenses to honor it, and the gathering of the whole family before this deity every time a branch of the divided families gets into serious trouble—all these facts provide solidarity in the family by religious means. The family chief not only cares for the administration of the wealth and support of its members, but he is its religious chief who, every morning, honors "Heaven and all the spirits" by means of the Wei-sang in behalf of them, and is their representative at the performance of the public rites in the village. His authority is, in large

[p. 159 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

part, based on religion and exercised in religious matters. 593 769

In the same way, the chiefs of the villages and the elders not only determine taxes, impose corvées and settle troubles, but preside over and perform religious rites without representatives of religions, on the top of the Obo mountain, or the sacred hill of the village, in time of calamities, on top of the highest mountain of the village, in behalf of all the villagers. They are the priests of the clan, promoting at the clan meeting, during the mediation of troubles, the principles of justice and respect for elders. They defend the traditions and customs of the clan of which the religious rites are a part, and urge their performance. To sum up, of the routine events and observances of village life, eight-tenths are religious.

The religious world to which the Monguors are accustomed is compulsory, and entirely different from that of the Chinese. It makes them feel that they are not Chinese, that the meaning of their lives is not the same as that of the Chinese and therefore that they are tightly bound to the community of their clan. The performance of religious rites over the span of a whole year constitutes a part of their traditions and customs. It helps tremendously in holding them close together, and prevents their absorption into the Chinese nation. 771 [186]

This fact is so striking that Monguors who, on account of political events, have become separated from their original communities, or who publicly have recanted their origin, still know perfectly well that they are Monguors. They always continue to indulge in some religious practices specific to the Monguors. Religion causes them to recall their origin.

XVI. CONCLUSION

The study of the diffusion of Lamaism among the Monguors sheds some light on the policy adopted by the emperors toward Lamaism. 648 771

POLICY OF CHINA TOWARD LAMAISM

It is common knowledge that the emperors promoted Lamaism. This policy has very often been explained as having been a device to debilitate the Mongol and Tibetan tribes, by encouraging enrollment in the monasteries of the largest possible number of the young, most turbulent elements of the tribes. Withdrawing the young from their tumultuous environment weakened the power of the tribes, who were always ready and poised to make inroads and work havoc in the marches on China. The entire history of the marches of China is replete with such tragic events. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this policy was founded on the hope that the barbarians would become peaceful and quiescent through contact with Lamaism.

The truth is that the Chinese were too conversant with their own history and too mindful of the harm

[p. 159(B)]

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [611] [591]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

N *563

M [556]

M [361]

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

M [182] [252]

M [342]

M [264] [342]

N *563 M 592 554 [769]

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 592 554 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 M 58 562 [769] [171] Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mongours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the ancestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their livestock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 M 584 583 582 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to considerable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage age for boys is between 14-16.

N *563 M 614 582 565 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is absolute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly observed among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is regarded as not being purely preserved, There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 M 582 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 M 588 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patrilineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 M 604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

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N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888]

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M • 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

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N *563 M 769 • 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [597] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.